A SERMON

PREACH'D AT

COTENHAM near CAMBRIDGE,

On the 9th. of September, 1683.

Being the Day set A-part for

Publick Thanksgiving

FOR THE

DELIVERANCE

OF

His Sacred Majesty

AND THE

GOVERNMENT

From the Late

Treasonable Conspiracy.

By JOHN FITZ-WILLIAM, *D. D. and Chaplain to His* ROYAL HIGHNESS.

LONDON:

Printed for *Will. Nott*, at the *Queens-Arms* in the *Pall-Mall*, 1683.

2D.2×15.3 (6).34P.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in GOD,

And my moſt Honoured LORD,

GEORGE,

Lord BISHOP of Wincheſter,

PRELATE of the moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

My LORD,

THE Zeal I had for the preſent Government, even while it was meerly to be enjoy'd in hopes, and we could only wish it might be reſtored, filled me with a juſt Indignation to find It, after its Re-eſtabliſhment, now again aſſaulted by Men of ſuch reſtleſs turbulent Spirits, that it's probable they would ſcarce be quiet and ſtill (or not long) under One of their own framing and deviſing; and that put me upon expreſſing my thoughts of Their late deſign'd Attempt againſt It: And had not This ſet me on the Work, I might plead the Command of Authority enjoyning a publick Thankſgiving to God for our Deliverance from it; in performing which, the Prieſts being to be the Peoples Mourns, That ſeem'd to require, that I, one of that Order, ſhould conſider well, take advice, and ſpeak my mind of their Fact.

Accordingly I did, (i. e.) as well as the little leiſure Windſor and my attendance there afforded, would permit; and my Thoughts of it, rough drawn as they were, I ſhew'd them to Your Lordſhip at Farnham, deſiring You to paſs Judgment upon them; where meeting with your Approbation and Encouragement, I was reſolv'd, without moulding them into a more regular Figure and Order, to make them publick, and ſend them

into the World under the Protection of Your Name: *concluding there was none fitter to countenance a* Sermon againſt Change of Government, *than you, who have ſtood unalterable in the laſt great* Viciſſitudes *and* Changes *here; was the ſame* in them, *as you were* before, *or are now* after them; *as great and faithful an* Advocate *for the* Church *afflicted and trod under foot, as you are a* Father *of it now, rais'd and re-flouriſhing; as dutifully devoted to an* Exil'd Prince *then, as you are to* Him *now*, reſtor'd, *and* ſeated on His Throne; *whoſe Allegiance follow'd* Cæſar *abroad, and attended on* Him, *not His* Fortune, *home again.*

But there are other reaſons, with reference to my ſelf, why I præfix your Name to it: I was determin'd to take ſome occaſion of recognizing your Favours to me, in recommending me to that Perſon of ſingular perſpicacity in Affairs of State, and unſhaken Fidelity to the Crown, the late Lord Treaſurer Southampton's *Patronage; and after His Death, taking me into* Your Own; *and ſince my diſmiſſion from your Service with a fair Reward, recommending me a-new to His* Royal Highneſs's, *where now I am, and was (as your Lordſhip knows) as willing to be, when that* Prince *was in the greateſt danger of being oppreſs'd by the Power of His Enemies, as ever* M. Terentius *was frank after the utter Ruine of* Sejanus *to own he had been his Friend, had coveted to be ſo, and glad he was admitted to that Relation.*

Tacit. Annal. 6.

I was determined, I ſay, to make ſome ſuch recognition, which I could not with more ſatisfaction to my ſelf, than by a Declaration as notorious as Print could make it, and addreſſing it to your Lordſhip, that I am,

My LORD,

Your Honours moſt Obliged,
Affectionately Humble,
and Obedient Servant,
J. FITZ-WILLIAM.

Cotenham, Sept. 12. 1683.

The Summary of the whole Diſcourſe.

S. 1. THe Text explain'd, and divided into three parts, and thence three Doctrines rais'd.

S. 2. The firſt Doctrine handled, *That fearing God and the King are inſeperable Duties*: and there it is ſhew'd, *That though there be a connexion between all the Commands, yet that there ſeems to be a cloſer Union between* Fearing God and the King; *ſo that the* One *cannot be found without the* Other.

S. 3. Second Doctrine, *As a manifeſtation of our fearing God and the King, we ought not to meddle with them who are given to change*: wherein is treated, §. 1. *That we may meddle with them who are given to change, either by conſenting to them, or by aſſiſting them; and the medling either way prov'd to be Unlawful.* §. 2. By theſe Arguments, 1. *Becauſe contrary to the Duties of Subjection to Governours, and praying for them.* §. 3. 2dly, *To the tenor of the Goſpel, proceeding from Ambition, Covetouſneſs, Revenge,* &c. §. 4. 3dly, *The methods for bringing it about extreme ill*; as, 1. *by Lies.* 2. *by hypocritical pretences.* 3. *by violation of poſitive Oaths, Natural Obligations, and entring into illegal Covenants.* §. 5. 4ly. *The means by which it's executed are baſe Treachery, or open Violence.* §. 6. 5ly, *The Concomitants and Conſequences of it are ſad and diſmal.*

S. 4. The third Doctrine, *That the endeavouring a Change is very deſtructive to thoſe who engage in it*: The Danger of this remonſtrated in ſeveral reſpects: 1. *There is danger it may be diſcovered while it's carrying on,* 1. *becauſe the Deſign muſt be entruſted to many.* 2. *becauſe ſome unfore-*

unforeseen accident may administer occasion to the Discovery. 3. *there is danger it may miscarry at the point of execution.* 4. *it's in danger that it may not thrive through this World, even after it hath succeeded, but that the Authors may be overtaken, and punish'd here.* 5. *however, they run a certain danger of being mightily tormented in the other World.*

S. 5. §. 1. The first Use is of Reproof, directed against those who in their Practice dissever the *Fear of God* and *the King*.

§. 2. The seccond a Reprehension of those who affect a Change.

§. 3. The third is Exhortatory, to persuade not to endeavour a Change, or meddle with them who do.

§. 4. The fourth is Hortatory, to return Thanks and Praise unto God, for his Goodness in preventing the impiety of those who design'd to have work'd a Change here; and to pray unto him that he would still bring to nought such *Counsels*.

THE

The Duties of Fearing GOD and the KING, AND THE *Mischiefs of* CHANGE.

Prov. 24. verse 21, 22.

21. *My Son, Fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.*

22. *For their Calamity shall rise suddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?*

S. 1.

עם שונים אל תתערב

OUr Translation of these words being very exact, and particularly more agreeable to the import of the *Hebrew*-Text in that part of it which we have rendred, *Meddle not with them that are given to change*, (various and inconstant men) than the *Latine*, who read it, *Meddle not with Detractors*; or the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* paraphrase, *Meddle not with Fools*; or than the *Greek* and *Arabick*, *Fear God and the King, and disobey neither*; And the *Changers* denoted being such rather who vary from the *Precepts of God*, and *Edicts of the King* than vary the Order, and respect those of the King before those of God; which some Rabbins have hinted at, last of all, since the Ruine of them both here may be either actively taken, the Punishment which both God and the King can inflict, as *Vatablus* and *Castalio* have expounded it; or passively, that which both they that fear not God nor the King, shall suffer, as *Mercer*; and its indifferent which we admit, and we may safely both: I shall insist no farther upon explaining the Text, but distributing it into three parts, whereof two are Commands, 1. *Fear God and the King*. 2. *Meddle not with them that are given to change*. The 3. a Reason to inforce the observance of them, *For Calamity shall suddenly*

70 [illegible] ἀυθ[illegible] [illegible] rab. [illegible] *travenias* [illegible] *ulli e*

Mercer *in loc.* Bayn. *in loc.*

Vatabl. & Castal. *in loc.*

Mercer ibid.

come

come upon them, and who knoweth the ruine of them both? I shall thence raise as many Propositions to treat on:

1. *That fearing God and the King are Duties inseperable.*

2. *That as a manifestation of our fearing God and honouring the King, we ought not to meddle with those who are given to change:* where, tho' the change may have such a latitude as to signifie that from Gods Mandate, yet I shall choose to consider it as a deflection from the Kings Ordinances, because it's immediately conjoyn'd with fearing the King, and so may be supposed to design civil inconstancy and mutability; and likewise it's most suitable to the occasion, that I should regard it in that sence.

3. *That the endeavouring a change in the Civil Government, proves dangerous and pernicious to the persons engag'd in the Design.*

1 PROPOSIT. Fearing God and honouring the King inseperable.

Fearing God and the King are Duties inseperable.

Indeed all the Commands are so chain'd together, that he who loosens but a single Link, dissolves the whole Chain; who transgresseth One, is guilty of All.

All the Commands and our Duties are connext.

For, though they were wrote in two distinct Tables, and distributed under ten Heads, or Words, (as the *Jewish* Doctors speak) by God himself; yet, his Authority (being the Soul which quickned them) like the Soul animating the several Members of the Body, gave them all but one common Life and Being: So that a particular violation of One, becomes of necessity a univeral destruction to All.

Plut. de Virtut. Moral. quem ap. Lipsium manuduct. ad Stoica Phylos. l. 3. c. 4. *vide.*

Priore sententiam Zenoni *Tribuit idem de contrariet Stioco. posteriorem* Zenoni.
Τὰς Ἀρετὰς ἀκολουθεῖν ἀλλήλαις, οὐ τῷ τὴν μίαν ἔχοντα πάσας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ μίαν ὁτιοῦν ἐνεργοῦντα κατὰ πάσας ἐνεργεῖν, οὔτε Ἄνδρα τέλειον εἶναι τὴν μὴ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἀρετὰς, οὔτε πρᾶξιν τελείαν ἥτις οὐ κατὰ πάσας πράττοι σὺν τὰς ἀρετάς.
Eodem modo exponit, Cic. *de fin.* l. 5. & Sen. *Ep.* 68.

And, as the Commands, so our Obligations to observe them are connext; If not after that manner as *Zeno* affirm'd all Virtues were, who promiscuously confounded them together; yet so as *Chrysippus* hath explain'd that *Stoical* Doctrine, *That a man could not be truly Brave, without the conduct of Prudence; nor Prudent, without attending to Justice; nor Just, without the regulation of Temperance.*

So

So in like manner, a man cannot be piously affected towards God, without being honestly disposed towards men; cannot express his love towards the One, in the instances belonging to him, without shewing it towards the Other in all points which concern them; and he who pretends to the Former, and neglects the Latter, proclaims himself a Lyar. *1 St. John 3. 21, 22.*

The reason of this is plain and obvious, because if I perform the *First* from a right Principle, out of conscience of my Duty towards God requiring it: the same Principle will engage me to do the *Second*, because he demands that likewise. And on the other side, if the motive of my Love and Respect to my fellow-Creature Man, be his bearing the Image of God, I cannot but love and reverence Him who fashion'd him after his own likeness.

And as there is no dividing, so there is no commuting of Duties; Our Zeal in *one kind*, will not make attonement for our Remissness in *another*; Our Piety, for Injustice.

But though all the Commands are inseperably conjoyn'd, yet there is a closer and more indissoluble Union (if I may be permitted to say so) between these two particular ones of *fearing God, and the King*, by how much Kings are more lively expressions of God's Majesty and Power, than ordinary Images, other men, are. The wise man hath here mention'd them as one Command; and St. *Peter* too, even while he useth two words for them, *Fear* and *Honour*, *Fear God, Honour the King*; for this Honouring the King is the same Act as Fearing of Him, or expressive of it. *But yet these two of Fearing God and Honouring the King are more closely united.* *1 Pet. 2. 17*

And Kings, for their nearer and exacter resemblance of Him, are adorn'd with His Title, wear His Name, and have His Stile given them by Himself.

[a] *I have said, ye are Gods*; and, [b] *Thou shalt not curse the Gods.*

From this strict Alliance and Union of these two Commands, arising out of the near resemblance between the Persons, God and the King, and the Majesty of the One, and Sovereignty of the Other; it's made as impossible to Adore God, and not Revere the King, who represents Him, as it is to Honour the King, and throw all the Contumely we can upon his Lieutenants or Vice-Roys commission'd by him. *No Fearing God, without Honouring the King.*

a Psal. 82. 6. & John 10. 34.
b Exod. 22. 28.

And of neceſſity follows, that the Subjects withdrawing their Obedience from their lawful Prince, is a denying God's Authority, a ſhaking off His Government from their Shoulders, a laying Him aſide, that He ſhould not reign over them.

(God plainly declares this to *Samuel*, when the *Iſraelites*, weary of his adminiſtration, who was deputed to it by himſelf, were deſirous to have a King of their own nomination.

1 Sam. 9. 7. *They have not rejected thee, but Me, that I ſhould not reign over them.*)

Ulpian in l. 1. ad l. Jul. Majeſt. ſcribit, crimen in Imperatorem admiſſum ſacrilegio eſſe proximum.

Treaſon againſt Him, is a kind of Sacriledge; a revolt from Him, an Apoſtacy from God; a reſiſting Him, an oppoſing God; rebelling againſt Him, fighting with God; the ſetting up the Title of a counterfeit Prince againſt the true One, an introducing a Plurality of God-heads; the obeying of a Uſurper, Idolatry; the ſlandering his Anointed and his Foot-ſteps, a blaſpheming God; the blaming his Conduct, a quarrelling with Providence.

No *Honouring the King*, without *Fearing God.*

And as we cannot *Fear* God the Supreme Potentate, without *Honouring* the Subordinate, who bears his Image and Superſcription, ſo we cannot *Honour* this Laſt as we ſhould, without *Fearing* the Former as we ought. We cannot revere the Copy of Divinity tranſcribed in the King, without revering the Original, the Deity, from whom his Power came, any more than we can have a veneration for the Picture of a man, and none for his Perſon; We cannot be for the Monarchy, and ſupporting it, while we dethrone God, by a denying him either in Words or Actions; not for upholding the Government, while by impious Diſputes, or wicked Lives, we exclude his Regiment out of the World; not for maintaining the Prerogative, while we are for clipping the Wings of his Power, and confining it to ſome Caſes only.

There is no bearing true Faith and Allegiance to our King, when we do it not to our God; no being Loyal Subjects to the One, while we are down-right Traytors to the Other.

The reaſon of this is clear, becauſe the honouring and obeying our Prince ſhould proceed from a Religion towards God, a conſcientious

ſcientious regard to his Authority, exacting the payment of both theſe; which if they do not, they are falſe and ſpurious, wanting the true and genuine Parent, a right Principle I mean, for their production, and muſt needs be fickle and inconſtant, for not being grounded upon a ſure and ſtanding bottom: So that when an inviting occaſion offers of promoting our Intereſt to greater advantage, of ſerving our ambition with better ſucceſs, than by honouring or obeying him; or of gratifying our revenge, of wrecking our malice; then theſe are forgot and withdrawn: or laſt of all, when by a declination in the ſtate of Affairs he is grown too weak to compel us to render theſe, then we deny the payment of them, and juſtifie it too.

Then Maxims of Humane Wiſdom, the moſt contrary to theſe Precepts of the Divine, are broach'd by us, *That the King is not Gods Miniſter, but the Peoples Servant; and as theirs, ſtands accountable to them for his Miſdemeanors; That his Power being a Truſt only from and for them, is revocable at their pleaſure and diſcretion, and they may juſtly re-ſeize it into their own hands, and for their own behoof, when they ſee it is not adminiſtred for their Good; That Wicked and Irreligeous Princes* (and ſuch are all they whom they pleaſe to brand with thoſe Marks) *have actually forfeited their Crown and Dignity to them*: And then Practices ſquared (or rather deformed) by theſe enormous Rules, are ſet on foot too. Seditious Clubs and Cabals are erected; Illegal Aſſociations form'd, and entred into; Secret Conſpiracies hatch'd; next open Inſurrections raiſed againſt them; and laſt of all, villainous Aſſaſſinations committed upon their Perſons.

A diſdainful Pride ſwell'd [a] *Dathan*, *Abiram* and *On*, Sons of *Reuben*, and ſo of the eldeſt Houſe, to ſee that Power lodg'd in *Moſes* and *Aaron*'s hands, which by Right of Primogeniture they imagin'd belong'd to them. Ambition ſeduced [b] *Abſalom*, the Peoples Gull. And Revenge for being removed from his great Charge, and drove into Exile by *Solomon*, inflam'd [c] *Jeroboam* into Rebellion under the Reign of his Son.

And every one of theſe either forſook God afore they did their

Baxter's holy Commonwealth, Theſ. 137.

Ibid. *Theſ.* 136. Affirming *That ſuch Princes depoſe themſelves.*

[a] *Num.* 16. 8, 13, 14.

[b] 2 *Sam.* 15.

[c] 1 *Kings*, 11. 28. 40.

their lawful Governours, or else renounc'd Them and disclaim'd Him together.

The first, the Seditious *Reubenites* were engaged in a Schism against God, at the same time as they were up in a mutiny against their Rulers; joyn'd themselves to *Korah* a *Levite*, who had usurp'd the Priests Office, in burning Incense before the Lord, which appertain'd not to him.

2 *Sam.* 13. 28. *Absalom* had his hands imbrew'd in his Brother *Amnon*'s blood, afore he lifted them up against his Prince and Father.

1 *King.* 12. 27, 28. And *Jeroboam*, to strengthen himself in his unjust acquisitions, made a change in the Worship; to continue the rent in State, by widening it, he made a rupture in Religion; to defend his Rebellion, he set up Idolatry, two Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*.

S. 2. § 1. 2 PROP. Medling not to change Government, a sign of fearing God and honouring the King.

The second Propositon was. *That as a manifestation of our fearing God and honouring the King, we ought not to meddle with those who are given to change.*

Meddle we may, either by approving the projects of men designing a Change, or by actual endeavouring one our selves; and the concerning our selves either way is unlawful.

The *Consenting* to a Change, renders us as guilty as *bringing it about.*

The first; The approving a Change renders us as equally guilty, as if we had brought it about; for it's consenting to a Crime which derives all the Malignity of it upon us: the external commission of it being only the owning of that to the World, which we had before perpetrated within our selves; and it being withal certain, we should commit what we consent to and approve, did not the Law (which takes cognizance only of Facts, or of an *Overt*-declaration of our intending them) restrain, or some Accident intervening, or Power interposing, hinder us.

Catiline was not less a Conspirator, and an Enemy to *Rome*, when he sate in consultation within its Walls, by what methods and practices its Frame and Constitution were to be subverted, than when he took the Field, and usurping the Ensigns and Badges of Consulship, he joyn'd with *C. Mallius*.

And a man may be as compleat a Rebel as he was, without taking up Arms against the Government, meerly by justifying the

the lawfulneſs of ſo doing; a Traytor, by giving a favourable ear to overtures tending that way; deep dy'd in the blood of his Prince, by being conſcious to a Deſign of ſhedding it; or all over Coal-black with foul Poyſon, which he hath neither prepared nor mingled, by being privy to an intention of adminiſtring it.

And as we are guilty in the Courts of Heaven and our own Conſciences, of a Treaſon or Conſpiracy which hath once gain'd our liking, though we proceed not to execution; ſo we may by the Law of State be juſtly puniſh'd for the ſame, if that can be proved.

For although it might be hard, it was not unjuſt, when a Nobleman of *Normandy* was arreſted and condemned of Treaſon by the Judges of the Parliament of *Paris*, for an intention to kill *Francis* the firſt, which he himſelf diſcloſed in Confeſſion to his Ghoſtly Father, as a Crime he repented of, and for which he craved the comfort of Abſolution.

The ſecond; The endeavouring a Change, plungeth the perſon (though he be drawn in by the artifice of others) over head and ears in guilt; immerſeth him as deep in it, as the firſt Contrivers and hotteſt Promoters of it; For it matters not to the abatement of that, what time he engaged in it, or whether after engagement he was active or ſupine in proſecuting it; nor is it any, what means he chooſeth to effect it, whether fair or foul, as we diſtinguiſh; whether he be for picking his way, (as we ſay) or reſolv'd to adventure through thick and thin.

The endeavouring it, as guilty as the prime Leaders.

In a Crime of this nature, there are no Acceſſaries, but all Principals.

§. 2. Arguments to ſhew the unlawfulneſs of endeavouring a Change.

The unlawfulneſs of concerning our ſelves any way to bring this about, will be manifeſt from theſe following Reflections.

1. The endeavouring it is contrary to the Duties ſo oft and ſo earneſtly preſſed upon us in Scripture, of *not touching God's Anointed*, of *being ſubject to the Higher Powers*, (*i.e.*) thoſe inveſted with the Supreme, becauſe God ordained them the place and ſtation; of ſubmitting to every *Ordinance* of every one conſtituted in Authority, *whether to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours as thoſe who are ſent*, commiſſioned, *by him.*

Pſal. 105, 15, *Rom.* 13. 1. *ad fin. 1 Pet.* 2. 13, 14.

For

For is not the Assassination of God's Anointed, thus contrary to our not touching Him? Is not the plucking down Rulers, a labouring to level them to us, or to raise and build our selves up above them, so, to our subjection and submission to Them? Is not the endeavouring to embroil the Affairs of His or Their Government, so, to living quietly under it? And are not these the methods we pursue, in order to bring about a Change, or some of the ends we propose in labouring it? And if they are, they cannot, with all the allowance of favour, be so construed, as they may be reconciled with our honouring Him or Them; for it may be as easily made out, that you may smite them with the Fist of Violence, and not touch them; raise Combustions, and not meddle in their Affairs; as salve the doing these with honouring Them.

And if there have been men among us who have taken these courses, and yet have confidently, or rather impudently, stiled themselves *His Majesties most Loyal Subjects*, and pretended to be affectionate lovers of the establish'd Government, they ought to prove the fore-mention'd Texts were to be expounded backward, and shew us they have found out the mysterious Art of salving Contradictions; of making Light and Darkness, Order and Confusion, dwell together; Peace and War salute and kiss each other; or else leave us at liberty to disbelieve their Professions, when we see their Practices.

Contrary to the duty of praying for them. *Jer.* 29. 7. *Baruch.* 1. 11. 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2,

Again, the endeavouring it is contrary to the Duty of praying for the safety of our Governours, and the prosperity of their Government; a point which the *Jews* were commanded to do for the Peace of *Babylon*, and the lives of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Baltazar* his Son while they were Captives in that place, and held so by those persons; which Christians are *for Kings, and all that are in Authority, that under them they may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all Godliness and Honesty*, with this recommendation, *because it's good and acceptable in the sight of God their Saviour*, and which in the first and purest Ages of that Doctrine they performed for their Emperours and Kings, irrespectively to their Religion, their Opinions in it, their natural Disposition, or their carriage towards them; For their Heathen Persecu-

Persecutors, as [a] *Tertullian* is a competent Witness for *Sept. Severus*, and [b] *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* for *Valerianus* and *Galienus*: Their *Arrian*, as the [c] *African* did for *Thrasimund*, such, and a *Goth* to boot: The [d] *Gallican*, for *Alaricus* the same: The [e] *Eastern*, for the Emperour *Valens* an *Arrian*: for [f] *Theodosius* the younger, and *Valentinian* the third, the one a favourer of *Nestorius*, and the other a very dissolute person.

[a] Tertull. c. 30. Apol. p. 30. ed. Rigal. F. & B. *Nos enim pro salute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum*, &c. *dein Oramus pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, Imperium securum, Domum tutam, Exercitus Fortes, Senatum Fidelem, Populum probum, orbem quietum & quæcunq; hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt.*

[b] Dionys. Alexand. Epist. ad Herm. ap. Euseub. l. 7. c. 11. p. 257. ed. Henr. Valesii. *Illius vero* Dionysii *sunt verba ad* Æmilianum *Præfectum* Ægypti *jubentem ut Deos Imperii custodes adoraret*, Ἡμεῖς πίνον τὸν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ Δημιουργὸν πάντων, &c. Τοῦτον καὶ σεβόμεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, καὶ τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τας Βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἀσαλευτος δι' μενη προσευχόμεθα.

[c] Fulgentius ad Thrasimund. l. 3. c. 36. Claudit librum peroratione pro Rege.

[d] Præfatio præmissa Synod. Agathens. Actis: Tom. 4. p. 1382. ed. Labb. & Cossart. quæ habita erat Anno 22 Alarici Gothorum in Gallia Regis. *Cum Sancta Synodus convenisset, ibiq; fluxis in terram Genibus pro Regno ejus, pro longævitate, pro populo Dominum Deprecaretur ut qui nobis Congregationis permiserat Potestatem Regnum ejus Dominus fælicitate extenderet.*

[e] Theodoret. l. 4. c. 26. *Speciatim de* Aphraate *Monacho* (*quamvis sparsim per integrum librum de Obedientia Orthodox. agit*) *quem ad Imperatorem cum è Regia Porticu* Antiochenâ, *festinantem vidisset & percontatus esset*, Ποῖ τοῦ βασιλέως; ἔφη, *respondisse refert* ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς προσευχόμενος Βασιλείας.

[f] Epist. Conc. Ephesin. Sess. 7. ad Theodos. & Valent. *Imperat. extans apud* Binium *uti puto, vel inter Acta Conc. edita ab* Hieron. Commelino. *Omissam vero a* Labbæo & Cossart. *æstimo, quod per Dei gratiam & ipsorum Majestatis Sanctionem Coactam agnoverit.*

Omnes & singuli assiduas Christo Domino pro Regni vestri stabilitate Preces offerimus, etiam atq; etiam obsecrantes, ut Christianissimum vestrum fastigium quam diutissime orbi tucatur incolume.

And the substance of their Prayers was, *That God would grant them a long Life, and a secure Reign; preserve their Family in Safety, and their Government in Peace*: In short, *whatsoever others or themselves could wish for*; all which is perfectly inconsistent with attempts on their Persons, or practices to disturb the tranquility of the Government. And therefore, He who prays, or pretends to do so, for his Prince, *That his Crown may flourish long upon his head, and his Empire may continue like the Sun and Moon through all Generations*: and yet is guilty of such, confutes himself, and his actions disgracefully give his Tongue the Lie; for *They* would bring his Life to a sudden period, and his Kingdom to a sad catastrophe, while *This* expresseth abundance of clamorous Zeal for the Preservation of the One, and Establishment of the Other.

§ 3. 2 Argum. The very endeavouring it oppoſite to the tenor of the Goſpel.

2*dly.* It's moſt oppoſite to the tenor of the Goſpel, and the frame of Chriſtianity. The Virtues That inculcates, and This makes profeſſion of, are, Contentedneſs in all Eſtates, Humility in the higheſt, Patience in ſuffering, Meekneſs in bearing, and Charity in forgiving Injuries: whereas Diſcontent, Pride, Ambition, Impatience, Anger, Revenge, are the Paſſions and Vices which inſtigate men to endeavour revolutions in Governments.

Thucydid. Ὁ πόλεμος καθίσταται ὁ ἐφήμερος τῶν ἀναγκαίων

They affect Novelty, and therefore ſit uneaſie under the preſent Government, which will be always deem'd * heavy by men of ſuch volatile and unquiet Spirits.

Statius Thebaid. *Militis aut plebis ingenium obſervat*

They love not a Conſtitution wherein Divine Providence hath a hand, and are for one of their own ſetting up.

Nec impoſitos unquam cervice volenti ferre Duces.

This made the *Iſraelites* requeſt to have a King, like the reſt of the Nations round about, when they were under a Theocracy; God reſerving the Sovereignty in his own hands, but exerciſing the Acts of it by Samuel, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5.

1 *Kings* 12. c. a. v. 14. a. d. 21.

The Yoak of Authority galls their ſtiff Necks, though in it ſelf never ſo eaſie; and they are for ſhaking it off, venturing the iſſue either of having none at all, or one that will hang very looſe about them.

An opinion that *Jeroboam*'s Loins would be lighter than *Rehoboam*'s little Finger, occaſioned the Revolt of ten Tribes from the latter, and the mutation which thereupon ſucceeded in the *Jewiſh* State.

Nemo eorum qui in Republica versantur quos vincit ſed a quibus vincatur aſpicit.

Or they are diſſatisfied with their ſtation and place in the Government, as too low and mean for men of their Abilities and Merits; and ſuſpecting they are not like to riſe higher, or make themſelves greater, in the preſent poſture of Affairs, are for diſturbing them, as the probabl'ſt way to gain their point; or out of meer indignation to ſee themſelves neglected, as they eſteem, are for ſubverting it, though they themſelves be oppreſſed with its fall.

Or if they ſtand high, they are diſpleas'd to ſee any above them; (for it's the nature of Ambition not to look down, but up; not on thoſe behind, but thoſe before) and therefore they will unhinge the whole Frame, in hopes to get into their places, or tumble all down, ſo they may Them.

Or

Or they are Poor and Needy, and so would fain enrich themselves, though it be with the spoils of their Countrey, which they can never come to have the ransacking of, but in publick Commotions: Want enrag'd *Catiline* and his Associates to conspire against theirs.

For that Observation of the Historian will be always found true; *Those in a Commonwealth who want Power or Riches, will envy them who have; and out of meer anger or madness with their private Fortune, will desire and labour to have the publick State turn'd topsy-turvy.* *Sal. de B. Catil. de ipso Catil. Inopia & mali mores stimulabant.*

Or they like not the disposition of their Governours; They are too mild, or too severe for them; too sordid, or too prosuse; And though the Excesses of Princes are to be born with as overmuch Drought, or immoderate Rain; nor are vitious Princes always succeeded by vitious, but the good interpose and compensate for the bad: yet they will not expect time to assist them with this remedy, but are for immediate discarding them, and going in quest after another of a more suitable temper, let the hazard of the Wild-goose-Chace be what it will. *Idem ibid. Nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum omnia miscere student.*

Or they have been disgusted by them, because in the disposition of Honours they have pass'd them over, or have not had that high esteem for them, they have for themselves; or they have disgraced them in words or actions: And to be revenged for these neglects and affronts, they will combine together to Depose and Murther them; care not whether they confound Heaven and Earth in one common *Chaos* again, so be it they have their revenge. *Idem P. Jugurth. Semper in Civitate quibus opes nullæ sunt bonis invidet; cætera odere, nova expetunt, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student.*

Cerialis ita loquitur. Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala, ita Luxum vel Avaritiam Dominantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines; sed neq; hæc continua & meliorum interventu pensantur. Tacit. hist. l. 4 c. 73, 74. ed. Lips.

Pausanius killed *Philip* of *Macedon*, for advancing *Attalus* to the Government of a Province, instead of punishing him upon his Complaint for abusing his Body; and *Aruns* brought the *Goths* into *Italy*, for having not Justice done him against *Lucamon*, who had defiled his Wife; *Lucan* conspired with *Piso* and others against *Nero's* *Tacit. Ann. l. 15 c. 12.*

Lucanum *propriæ causæ accendebant, quod fautæ carminum ejus premebat Nero prohiberatque ostentare.*

Idem Ibid. Cuſſini an. Maximus

De Quinctiano. à Nerone *probroſo Carmine diffamatus contumelias ultum ibat.*

Nero's Life, for ſuppreſſing his Poem; *Quinctianus*, for Defaming him in Song; *Maximus* againſt *Valentinian* the third, *Julian* a Nobleman of *Spain* calls in the *Moors* thither to be even with *Roderic* for corrupting his Wife or Daughter; and even he was, for their ſucceſs put an end to his Life and the *Gothique* race of Kings in that Country.

Roderic Teleton l. 3. c. 8. & 19. Petav. Rationar. part. 1. l. 8. c. 4. Joan Buſſieres Hiſt. Gallic. l. 16. c. 11. part. 3. p. 301. D. Pet. l. 8. c. 3. Ration. par 1. Jo. Buſſier l. 3. c. 18. p. 1.

Robert of *Artois* called the *Engliſh* into the *France* becauſe a Suit of Law went againſt him: And *Charles* of *Bourbon* rais'd up *Charles* the fifth againſt *Francis* the firſt, for the ſame reaſon; and *Rodulus* kill'd *Chilperick* for ordering him to be Whipt as a puniſhment.

Or laſt of all their Villanies, have render'd them obnoxious to the Juſtice of the Government, from whichthey haveno way left of ſaving themſelves, unleſs by committing the greateſt, that of undermining and overthrowing it.

Tacit.

Διὰ γὰρ τὸ φόβου χάριν ἔξω τοῦ μὴ κινδυνεύειν ἐπὶ τοῖς μὴ φοβεροῖς
Imminentium periculum remedium ipſa pericula arbitrati, Ariſtot. Polit. l. 5. c. 3.

The Phyloſopher wiſely obſerv'd, *Thoſe who have done wrong, uſually fly to Sedition to protect them againſt Puniſhment*; and the Hiſtorian, *That men fling themſelves intoactual dangers to ſecure themſelves againſt thoſe they only fear.*

§. 4. 3d. Argument. The Methods to bring it about ill. as (1.) by Lyes.

3dly. The methods which men uſually, and of neceſſity almoſt muſt take to bring about a Change are extremly ill.

The firſt of which is the Deviſing and Venting Lies againſt their Governours.

This of Slandering them and their Conduct, is generally the firſt ſtep Seditious Incendiaries take in their progreſs to Rebellion.

2 Samuel 15. 34.

Abſolom, The prime model of ſuch, told the people, *There matters were good and right, but no man deputed of the* King *to hear them.*

And having this precedent before them, they fail not of complaining to the People of their Princes neglecting his Affairs and Juſtice; or inſinuating moreover his Inclinations to alter Religion, and Laws, then which nothing is (I am ſure ought to be) more tender

tender and dear to them; to bring in a Forreign Power or Settle a ſtanding Army; than which, nothing can be more Dreadful and Afrightful to them; that he Affects an Immenſity of Power, or Arbitrarily exerciſeth what he hath already: In ſhort they Maliciouſly ſpy out Faults where there are none, Agravate thoſe that are, and with a like greedineſs and pleaſure divulge them both, to weaken his Credit and Eſtimation with his People.

They make Invidious Conſtructions of his Deſigns, Odious Reflections on his Actions, and ſpread them Abroad; which when they are grown the ſubject of Common Report, fill the Peoples minds with Fears and Jealouſies, and ſo diſpoſe them as Combuſtible matter ſoon takes Fire, for Tumults and Inſurrections.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 16. Inſerunt querelas & ambiguos de principe ſermones, quæque alia turbamenta Vulgi.

The ſpreading of falſe Rumors, is to the Multitude as Winds to the Sea, *Makes them Rage and Swell, lift up their voice and roar*, in the elegant Expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, who otherwiſe like that, ſmooth when not blown upon, would have layn ſtill and calm; and by inſenſible degrees it tends to work this effect, though the Falſe News within few Hours, Days at fartheſt, can be diſprov'd; for either the refutation ſhall never reach ſo far as the Lye went, or if it doth, that hath made too deep an Impreſſion in ſome to be eras'd; the Poiſon of it hath wrought it ſelf ſo far in, and lodg'd it ſelf ſo ſtrongly, that Truth is too weak an Antidote to expel it.

Pſal. 46.3.

The ſecond method is near of kin to this, Falſe and Hypocritical pretences.

2d. Method Falſe Pretences.

They who level at the Government, always diſguiſe thoſe aims with the fair and ſpecious colours of maintaining endanger'd Religion, Liberty and Property; while they have no Senſe of the firſt; intend to Oppreſs the ſecond, and Seize on the third.

Theſe are all ſuch pleaſing names in the Peoples Ears, that albeit no attempt towards a Change can be made, without firſt Violating Religion and its commands of Subjection and Obedience; and its always ſeen if that ſucceeds, that Liberty is afterwards cruſh'd, and Property uſurp'd: Yet as Conſpiring Knaves never fail to make uſe of them; ſo nor eaſie Fools to be charm'd

charm'd and caught by them, to contribute their assistance towards the destruction of them all in a Change.

For when that's actually done, then these cunning Contrivers of it are sure to bind the silly, giddy, helpers of it forwards with Chains for Cords, and instead of an easie yoak, to put a heavy burdensome clog about their Necks; for enjoy'd or promis'd Freedom, to entail Slavery on them and their Posterity: And have the Impudence at the same time to call this State of Oppression and Tyranny, an asserting the Priviledges of the Nation, and restoring the People to their Birthright. As the *Romans* when they had seiz'd on Kingdoms wihout right, and wasted them with Fire and Sword, call'd that Desolation Peace.

Galgacus popularis noster ap. Agricolæ vitam a Tacito scriptam.

Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus Imperium, atq; ubi solitudinem fecerint, pacem appellant.

Miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent.

This is the recompence, and a deserved one, they meet with for their easiness in believing the pretences, and forwardness in aiding them in their wicked enterprizes.

Civilis apud Eundem l. 4. Hist.

Absalon used both these colours: He complain'd that the due course of Law was stop'd, and seem'd griev'd that Justice did not freely flow in its Channels, and promis'd withall to open them a passage, if he were made Judge; *That every man then who had a Suit, and would come unto him, should have right done him.*

2 Sam. 15 ch.

And yet he violated the Law of Nature in thus affecting the Soveraignty, which was not to be had without Killing or Commanding his Father as his supreme; and proceeded farther in the breach of it, in Lying with his Concubines without regard to shame, in the face of the Sun, and before the Eyes of the People.

He made Profession of Concience too, the paying of a Vow he had 2 years stood charged with, to have his Fathers leave to make a Journey to *Hebron*, when it was only to gain the opportunity of time, and the conveniency of place to commence a Rebellion.

2 Sam. 15. v. 7, 8, 9, 10.

And *Jeroboam* if he did not cover his Ambition at first with zeal for the purity of Religion, and charge *Solomons* making twelve

twelve Oxen to ſupport the brazen Sea in his Temple with a degree of Idolatry, as the Rabbins have done; yet he was a great Stickler for the Peoples Liberty, went with them to *Rehoboam* to redreſs their Grievances: And as being got into the Throne he certainly debaſed Religion, in ſetting up the Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and proclaiming they were the Gods which brought the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*; ſo it's as little to be queſtion'd but that he infring'd their Liberty, laid heavier Taxes on the revolted Tribes than ever *Solomon* did, towards the payment of the Souldiers and Garriſons it was neceſſary he ſhould maintain for the holding of his ill got power; and thoſe, no doubt, harder to be paid in his divided and unquiet Uſurpation, than the ſame would have been under *Solomon*, while the Kingdom ſtood entire, and his Reign flow'd with Peace and Wealth. 1 *Kings* 12 28, 29, 30.

The third method is, Breaking through all Oaths they ſtand bound by, *Of bearing true Faith and Allegiance to their Governours, of diſcovering all Treaſonable Deſigns and Practices againſt their Perſons or Authority:* Oaths in which they depoſited with them the richeſt Pawn it was poſſible for them to ſtake down, and gave them the ſtrongeſt Security the others could require of their Fidelity and Obedience, *their Salvation*; Oaths in which they call'd God's Omniſcience to witneſs theſe Engagements, and his Juſtice and Power to revenge the breach of them. The third Method toward a Change, *Breaking Oaths.*

And yet, as if they were no more to be held by them than *Samſon* was with green Wyths or new Ropes, (which to his force were ſlight and weak as ſingle Threds) or as if their conſciences were no more to be wounded by Perjury, than the *German* Hard-men are by Sword and Shot; or laſt of all, as if they had a ſecret *Recipe* of being acquainted with Conſpiracies, and not being affected with the Treaſon of them: All who are for innovating in Government, direct their Councels againſt the Conſtitution it ſelf, or the Supreme Perſon in it, to the Subverting the One, and Depoſing or Murthering the Other, notwitſtanding their Oaths to the contrary.

But if there were no breaking through Oaths, (and yet I believe there is ſcarce any form of Regiment in the World which takes

Natural Obligations.

takes not this kind of cautionary Bond from their Subjects) they must make their way through all Natural Obligations to come at their end.

For every man who is not born to Empire, antecedent to all Oaths, and abstracting from the force of all Humane Laws, is born with a tie of Duty and Obedience to the Government under which he was born; and he can no more dissolve, change or transfer this Obligation by a subsequent Protestation of his Obedience to a Prince or State, other than his Natural, than he could afore he came into the World choose of what Parents he would descend, the Countrey where, and the Dominion under which he would make his entrance into it.

Ærodius l. 10. Rer. Judicat. tit. ad Municipal. c. 3. *Sed si Patriæ, non nobis Nati sumus, &c. Cur licebit Civitatem tanquam Militiam deserere, cui Nativitate, cui Sanguine, cui Divino Humanoq; jure addicti & adstricti sumus? Atqui qui Militiam deserit Adultero aut Homicida propterea gravius peccat.* (*inquit* Aristoteles) *quod hic unum aut alterum lædit; illa Remp. Quid de eo igitur, qui Civitatem, qui Patriam deserit? Jus Naturale, jus Gentium lædit sane ut jura Sanguinis non possunt Commutari ita nec originis.*

Zouch feciat. Gent. p. 2. S. 2. sect. 17. *Ærod. pan. l. 10. tit. 1. Sparsim.*

Entring into unlawful Oaths.

Yet farther, besides the wickedness of breaking through all Civil and Natural Obligations to bring on a Change, they bind themselves by impious Oaths, the most directly contrary to those Engagements, to labour it: *Catiline* initiated his Complices to the privacy of his Conspiracy by a Sacrament solemn as a Sacrifice to the Gods, drank to them in a mingled Bowl of mans Blood and Wine, made them pledge him and one another in that, and so doing, their mutual Faith, devoting themselves with horrid Execrations to suffer all ills, in case they infringed it, afore he ventured to acquaint them with the Villainy they were to be Actors in. And the Gunpowder-Traytors bound their Truth and Secrecy one to another in the wicked Project they had in hand, by the Sacrament of the Body of Christ.

§. 2. 4 Argum. The Means of *effecting* it, *Base.*

The Means by which a Change is executed, are base and vile, generally by occult Fraud and Treachery, without any preceding Declaration of Animosity.

If the Government be Monarchical, and the Change depend upon the removal of the present Possessor of the Crown, or the legal Heir and Successor to it, it's executed by Poyson, a Stab, Shot,

Shot, or ſome ſuch foul villainous means; the uſing of which is the Symptom, or rather the Malady, of an abject profligate Mind, which a perſon of any bravery of Spirit can no more do, than he can protect himſelf againſt them.

He hath the Courage to oppoſe Arms to Arms, and may be with ſucceſs; but he dares not be an Aſſaſſin, or Poyſoner: He hath no more a Soul that can be guilty of ſuch baſe Actions, than he hath a Body that is defenſible and proof againſt them.

Or if it be accompliſh'd with the formality of a Proceſs, as ours was, when our Prince was Arraigned and Sentenced by a mock *Court of Juſtice*, and accordingly Executed; or as that of *Naples* was, when *Conradine* the Nephew of *Conrade* the Emperour, contending for that Crown, and the other of *Sicily*, with the Houſe of *Anjou* and the Papal See, being taken at the Battle of *Alby*, was Tryed, Condemned, and Beheaded in the publick Streets of *Naples*: it makes it ſtill more villainous; for there is no more capital Injuſtice, than that which is done with the Ceremony of the Law, and the Pageant-ſhew of Juſtice.

But if it be a Republick, in the ſtrict notion of the word, its Change is hardly to be effected without violence, as many times that of Kingdoms is not too, and the Government hath no warning to prepare it ſelf againſt this danger, as in a juſt War denounced by a Foreign Enemy it hath; but like conceal'd Fire, it breaks out all of a Flame, which maſters in a moment whatever oppoſeth it, or ſtands in its way.

But fifthly, The Concomitants and Conſequences of a Change, are dire and miſchevous: If it's not preceded and uſher'd in, it's attended and followed by Tumults and Inſurrections, where the Sword is licentiated to do thoſe horrid Wickednеſſes which I have too great a tenderneſs to mention, or, may be, you to hear; Virgins are deflowr'd; Matrons raviſh'd; Sucklings hanging at their Mothers Breaſts, ſnatch'd thence; Children torn from the Boſoms and kind Embraces of their Parents, and both either daſh'd againſt the ſtones, or impaled upon the Spears point, or ſwoon a-

Tacit 2 hiſt. Arma aperta palam vites, fraus & dolus occulta occ; inevitabilia. Caſar apud. Sal. B. Catilin Hoſtem adverſum homini ſtrenuo opprimere haud difficile eſt periculo neq; facere, neq; vitare bonis in promtu eſt. Raynald Annal. ad A. 1268. P. Æmil. l. 7. & Mich. Ritio de Regno ſic l. 3.

§. 6. 5 Argum. The Concomitants and Conſequences of a Change, Dire.

way through Famine in the ſtreets; the Comlineſs of Youth ſhamefully abuſed againſt Nature; Manhood tortur'd with all Cruelty; Old Age, without Reverence to it, and the tender Sex, without Pity to it, forced to ſuffer all the Contumelies of Military Inſolence; Temples profan'd and pillag'd; ancient Inheritances turn'd to Strangers, and Houſes to Aliens, or elſe ſack'd and burnt; all places fill'd with Luſt, Rapine and Murther; the Air reſounding with the dreadful groans of the dying; the Ground ſtrew'd with the gaſtly Carcaſes of the ſlain, or drown'd in a Deluge of their Blood; In ſhort, where there is no other Spectacle but Sadneſs and Horrour

S. 4. But if theſe Arguments repreſenting the ſinfulneſs of endeavouring a Change, be not powerful enough to diſſuade us from making ſuch Attempts, the danger we may draw upon our ſelves may be of force to diſcourage us. The Text preſents us with this Conſideration, where it is brought in as a Reaſon to deter us: *For their Calamity ſhall riſe ſuddenly*, &c. and might be regarded by us as ſuch here; But becauſe I cannot treat of it with the ſame brevity as I have done the fore-going, I ſhall chooſe rather to handle it under the qualification I propounded it at firſt, as an abſolute entire Propoſition,

3 PROP. or *Doctrine* The danger of deſigning a Change in 3 reſpects. *That the attempting a change in Government, proves dangerous and pernicious to the perſons engag'd in the Deſign.*

I ſhall exhibit the danger of it to your view in theſe ſeveral reſpects:

1. *From the difficulty of carrying on ſuch a Deſign without detection; and in that caſe, the ſeverity of puniſhment which ſhall be inflicted on the Agents concern'd in it.*

2. *If it be not prevented by diſcovery, but ſucceeds to their hearts deſire, the puniſhment it may in probability meet with ſome time or other in this World.*

And 3. *If it be ſo lucky and thriving, as to eſcape puniſhment in this World, yet the certainty of its being purſued, overtaken, and puniſh'd by Divine Juſtice in the World to come.*

1. Then,

1. Then its difficult to carry on any design towards the Alteration of the State without discovery.

§. 1. The danger in the 1st. respect from Detection.

1. And the difficulty of this ariseth in the first place from the number of those who of necessity must be engaged in an affair of this nature, always too many to keep Councel, and too few for Action. And in such a number there will be some who are troubled with a natural infirmity, are leaky and chinky in the Comædians Phrase, and cannot hold a secret; are in *Boccalini*'s afraid if they should, that it would smell and corrupt their Breath, in the Son of *Sirach*'s travel, with it and are in pain till they be deliver'd of it. This was the weakness of *Dymnus* a Complice with *Philotas* in the Conspiracy against *Alexander*. He could not forbear telling it *Nicomachus* a *Catamite* Boy he lov'd, who acquainted his Brother *Ceballinus* with it, and he the King by *Motronus*. And the Disease of *Curius* in *Cataline*'s, who tatled it to *Fulvia* his Mistress, and the reveal'd it to the *Consul*.

Its hard to aviod discovery because of the number, the taking or treacherous humour of some of the Conspirators. *Tac. Annal.* 15. *Irustra silentium & fidem in tot Conscionum Animis & corporibus sperari. Curt. l.* 6. *num.* 7 *Plut. v. Alex.*

Sal. B. Cat. de Curio Huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam audacia, neq; reticere quæ audierat, neq, suamet ipse scelera occultare, &c.

Others are of a treacherous disposition inclining them to betray whatsoever is Committed to their Trust, though under the strictest and Sacred'st adjurations of Secrecy to seal up their Lips in Silence, and their Associates to boot, though leagu'd together in mutual confidence by the powerful Cement of a Sacrament.

Nor is it reasonably to be expected otherwise, that men false to their Lawful Governours Authority, should be true to one another in Villany.

§. 2. 2*dly*. Its oft discover'd by some strauge Providence.

But 2*dly*, If it pass safe these pikes of Garrulity or Perfidiousness, some occurrence or other (which we call Accident and are apt to give to chance but in Truth happens not without the interposition of Divine Providence watchful for the Conservation of Governments it hath erected) administers some Jealousy of a Contrivance carried on against it. Either to the Rulers and Conducters of Affairs, or persons unconcern'd in the management of them.

Tac. Annal. 15 *Cruciatu aut Præmio cuncta pervia esse.*

This occasions the apprehension of the suspected, who through Fear or Hope are wrought upon to discover all they know of the Confederacy and Confederates: For Torments or Rewards are the Picklocks of all Secrets, and scarce a humane breast so fastned with the bars and bolts of Obstinacy, which one of these will not open: So *Mordecai* either overheard *Bigthan* and *Theresh* contriving to lay Hands on *Ahasuerus*, or suspected their Design and Accused them. So it was in *Piso*'s Conspiracy.

Esther 2. 21, 22.

Tac. Annal. *Milichus* a manumis'd servant of *Scevinus*, one of the chiefs in that Plot against *Nero*, suspected he had some such Design, from his calling for his Rusty-Sword, and ordering it to be scour'd and sharpn'd, Filleting useful for the binding up of Wounds to be got ready; the making his Will, and giving his Slaves their Freedom; all which he did but the day before it should have been put in Execution: Thereupon he accuseth him to the *Emperor*, and on this dark intimation alone he is seiz'd and brought before him; where, while he stood Confronted by *Milichus* singly, he confidently deny'd any knowledge of it; but understanding *Natalis* had declar'd something, he forthwith Confesseth all, and names his Complices: *Lucanus*, *Quinchanus*, *Senecio*; the first of which upon Examination did his Mother, the other two their Intimatest Friends Two Domesticks of the Duke of *Bourbons*, *Martignon* and *Argogne*, penetrat'd into his Conjuration, and reveal'd it to *Francis* the first: So the Sagacity of one of our Princes from an obscure Expression in a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, warning him to keep from that Session of Parliament, because it should receive a *Terrible Blow*, scented out the Treason, which was then near perfected, and that *Powder* should be the Instrument of it: confirm'd in which conjecture more and more by weighing the Word, he gives order for a diligent search to be made of the Cellers and Vaults about the Parliament-house, which happily ended in the taking the Prime Artificer of wickedness standing before the doors as one of them; where all the Engines prepared to work the Dire mischief lay hid under Piles of Wood and Coal.

Joan. Buss. l. 16. c. 12. p. 3. p 303, & 304.

Thus

Thus God undiscern'd, shoots with a secret Arrow at those who encourage themselves in mischief, and commune among themselves of laying snares, and say, that no man shall see them; so that suddenly they are wounded, and he makes their own Tongues to fall upon them. Psal 64. v. 56, 78

Thus he ordereth it, *That they fall into the Pit which they digg'd for others; and that in the Net which they laid privily should their own foot be caught.* Psal. 9 15.

§. 3.

But if it neither be detected before-hand by the Vanity, Looseness and Faithlessness of men, or Gods Miraculous Providence, it oft fails at the very nick and point of Execution through precipitancy and Inconsideration. 3*ly.* It oft fails at the point of Execution

The design of *Quinctianus* against the Life of the Emperor *Commodus*, miscarried by his rash drawing out his naked Poiynard, and presenting it towards his Breast with this Complement, *The Senate sends thee this*; for this, though small warning, gave him opportunity to make his escape.

De Quintiano, Ὁ δὲ ὑποδὺς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐσθῆτι, &c. γυμνώσας τὸ ξιφίδιον, ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ φιλίως τῷ Κομμόδῳ καὶ μεγάλην φωνὴν προσιεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι πέμπει μὲν σφάττει. ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ἱματίων προσφορᾶν ἠρέμει τὸ, καὶ τὸ δεῖξαντος ξίφος συλληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν σωμάτων συλάκων τῷ Βασιλέως δίκην ἀνοίας ὑπέσχεν. Herodian l. 1. vita Commo p. 12. edit H. Steph.

In like manner did that of *Antonius de Volaterra* against *Lawrence di Medici*, by so little notice before, as the crying out of, *Ah Traytor!* gave him to prevent it.

§. 4.

But suppose it to meet with all the success Conspirators themselves can wish themselves, yet in the second place; these persons are oft at the long run overtaken by Vengeance, and explarily punish'd in this World. 2*d.* Danger is of its being punish'd afterwards, though it succeeds for the present.

Innumerable footsteps of this justice are left us standing both on Sacred and Civil Records: The earth open'd her mouth wide and swallow'd up *Corah Dathan* and *Abiram* with their Rebellious Crew in the very act and height of their wickedness: *Abimelech*, who dy'd his Princely Scarlet in the Blood of 70 Brethren he slew, that he might rule without controul, had his Skull at the storming of *Thebez* broke by a Stone thrown from a Womans hand, on which the *Historian*, who relates it, makes this remarque. Numb. 16. 32. Judges 9 ch. v. 53.

Athaliah

Athaliah who murther'd all the Royal Line of *Judah* (except an Infant Heir preserv'd by his Aunt for a more favourable juncture) that she might reign and reign without a Rival, fell from her Greatness by the same bloody steps she mounted to it; was slain by her Guard within the Verge of her Palace.

2 Kings c. 11. 16.

Jeroboam the grand Usurper of the *Israelitish* Crown, though he escap'd in his Person, yet was punish'd in the utter extirpation of his Posterity; *Nadab* his Son Kill'd and all his Family by the Sword of *Baasha*, not one left alive who breath'd.

1 King 15. 29.

This murtherers Son *Elah*, together with all the Male Line destroy'd by *Zimri*; not one left who piss'd against the Wall.

1 King 16. 10, and 12.

Zimri after seven days reign, laid hands on himself to avoid falling into *Omri's* who Besieged him, burning his Palace over his own head.

1 King 16. 15, 18.

Shallum who took away *Zechariah's* Life and Kingdom was depriv'd of both within a Month by *Menahem*, whose Son *Pekajah* had the like turn done him by *Pekah* the Captain of his Guard, and he by *Hoshea*, who in the *9th.* year of his Usurpation was strip'd of his Regality, and carried Captive by *Salmanezer* into *Assyria* and *Media*, and with him expir'd that Monarchy.

1 King. 15. 30. 2 King 18. 9.

Quod de Cæsare memoriæ Traditum est hoc etiam de Gordiano evenisse perscribit nam omnes qui cunq; illum gladio appetiverunt (qui novem fuisse dicuntur) postea interemptis Philippis sua manu suisq; gladiis & iisdem quibus illum percusserant interisse dicuntur, Jul. Capit vi. Gordia 3tii p. 241. ed. C. Sigonii.

And should I travel now out of Sacred Story into Profane for Instances, time would fail me in recounting the Tragical ends of Usurpers or Rigicides, of *Cyrus* who seiz'd on his Grandfathers Kingdoms, of *Bessus* whose Murther of *Darius Ochus* caus'd the Translation of the Empire from the *Persian* to the *Greeks*, of *Philip* the Usurper of the *Macedonian* Crown, slain between his Son *Alexander* the Great and his Son in Law *Alexander* of *Epirus* at the Espousals of his Daughter; of *Pisistratus* who invaded the *Athenian*, *Julius Cæsar* who Invaded the *Roman* Government: The Murderers of *Gordian* the *Emperor*, who fell all by their own hands, employing those very Swords against their own Lives, which they had before us'd to take away his.

Cuspin t. Maximus Sidon 2. Ep. l. 3

And infinite numbers more mention'd by the *Roman*, *Byzantine* and other Writers; only I cannot omit two memorable Examples. the one of *Maximus*, who procur'd the Murder of *Valentinian*

lentinian the Third, Torn afterwards in pieces by the People of *Rome*; the other of *Phocas*, who through the barbarous murther of his Master *Mauritius*, ascended the Throne of *Constantinople*: He taken by *Photinus*, received a suitably reward, and had his Head, Hands, Feet, and Privities cut off

In these, generally speaking, is that saying of our Saviour verified, *They who take the Sword*, [take it against lawful Authority] *shall perish with the Sword*, [the Sword of Justice;] And of St. *John*, *He that killeth with the Sword, must be killed with the Sword*; by the Sword, very oft, of him whose way to the Throne that persons Sword cut, in murthering him who sate thereon; for Princes recompence such a kindness done them, by revenging it on the Authors: *David* did it on the *Amalekite* who slew *Saul* at his own intreaty, and with exemplary severity on those two who slew *Ishboseth* their Master, and his Competitor for Empire, cutting off first their Hands and Feet.

Amassas put to death the murtherers of his Father *Joas*; *Alexander*, *Pausanias* and his Abettors; and thus *Vitellius* did those who killed *Galba*; *Probus*, the murtherer of *Aurelianus* and *Tacitus*; *Theophilus*, the murtherers of *Leo Armenius*, though his death made his Father *Michael Balbus* Emperour; and *Claudius*, as great a Bruit as he was, those of *Caligula*: And a Christian Council hath enjoyn'd the Successor to take this just revenge of those whose hands were embrew'd in his Predecessors Blood.

But if Justice doth not follow them so close and fast, as to signalize her self in the overtaking and punishing them here, she will pursue them into another World, and there certainly apprehend and chastise them: In this sense that of *Amos* shall be fulfilled, *He that escapeth of them, shall not be delivered.*

And therefore, if we have seen or observed men who have been active in disturbing the Order and Tranquility of States, and turning them topsy-turvey through Ambition or Revenge, go off the Stage gloriously with all their ill-got Power and Greatness, or at least steal silently into their Graves, (as a late Usurper, and a later *Boutefeu*, among us have done, whose Names I'll commit to *Oblivion*, because I will not gratifie their Vanity in thirsting after

a

P Diac. l 17 Mat 26. 52. Rev 13. 10. Tac. A. Loquens de Galbæ occissoribus, nec priores nec futuri principes terruere, quo facerent scelus cujus ultor est quisquis successit. Tac. l. 1. hist de Galbæ occisoribus omnesq; conquiri & interfici jussit, non Honore Galbæ sed tradito Principibus more munimentum ad præsens in posterum ultionem. Zonaras de Theophil. & Zozim. l. 1. p. 35. ed. Steph. de Probo memorat. Sueton. 6. Conc. 6. Tol. v. l. 7. tit. 2. c. 20, 21, 22, 23.

3 Danger Of being certainly punishe in the world to come, if it escape scotfree in this.

Amos 9. 1.

a great Name) though we are no more to envy than applaud their Fortune, but really pity their misery, such, that their Crimes were not punish'd according to their Condignity here, but reserv'd to be so in another World, with pains that Almighty Vengeance alone can inflict, and the Damned alone sustain.

There, there, at God's Tribunal, shall they stand to be judged, whom the Bench hath been too weak to reach, or take cognizance of; and then shall his terrible Sentence deliver over such who have evaded the lash of the Law to evil Angels, his Executioners, to scourge with Scorpions.

Then with his own right Arm shall he discomfit, and overthrow in a perpetual Destruction, such successful Rebels who have been too strong for the Arm of Flesh to correct.

a Job 34. 17.

For, should he not do this, that infinitely impartial Justice of his, in *rendring to every man according to his* [a] *ways, and the fruit of his* [b] *doings*; that exact Truth of his, which hath declared, *though hand joyn in hand,* [c] *the wicked shall not be unpunished,* would be liable to be question'd and impeach'd.

b Jer. 17. 10. & 32. 19.

c Prov. 11. 21.

Upon that Justice and Truth then which can never be justly and truly tax'd, we may be confident that they shall then receive their woful Doom.

For can it be thought, that he who *will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain,* should connive at the violation of all Obligations of Duty and Fidelity contracted in that Name; and let such escape scot-free who do this that they rise up against them who wear his Name, and are clad in the Rays of his Majesty? That if men shall be in danger of Hell fire for calling their Brother *Fool,* they shall be in none for railing against their Superiours invested with Authority from above, and acting by a Commission from Heaven? St. *Peter* and St. *Jude* have taught us otherwise, *viz. That God reserveth such who speak evil of Dignities unto the day of Judgment, to be punished: for the blackness of darkness for ever.*

Mat. 5. 21.

1 Pet. 1 2. c. 9. comp. with the 10.

Jud. 8 comp. with the 13.

Certainly, if neither Thieves, nor Extortioners, nor the Covetous, shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, as St. *Paul* hath told us they shall not; If pety Thieves, who steal a Lamb from the Fold, or a Thimble and Bodkin out of the House; small Extortioners,

1 Cor. 6. 10.

ners, who take Ten in the Hundred; poor Covetous Ones, who rake and ſcrape to ſave a peny, ſhall not: I ſay, Certainly ſuch Thieves who rob and ſpoil whole Countreys, ſuch Extortioners who by their exactions for the maintenance of their unwarrantable Armies, poll and flea the People to the skin, ſuch Covetous who are not to be ſated with all the plunder'd Wealth of Provinces, (and ſuch are all Rebels againſt Government) ſhall not.

If ſuch Hypocrites who *make long prayers to devour widows houſes, ſhall receive greater Damnation*; then they who do ſo to ſwallow whole Kingdoms in a Uſurpation, ſhall receive That, or a greater than the greater. *Mat.* 33. 14.

If Lyars, Sorcerers, Whoremongers, Murtherers, and Idolaters, ſhall *receive their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone*, as we are informed they ſhall; ſurely ſuch Lyars, who maliciouſly ſlander their Prince, firſt to weaken his Credit, then his Hands; ſuch Sorcerers, who with the Witchcraft of cunning and fair ſpeaking alienate the Peoples affections from him; ſuch Whoremongers who are guilty of, and ſtand anſwerable to Juſtice for all the Rapes and Deflorations Souldiers raiſed by them to begin an Inſurrection, and make a Revolt, in the heat of War and Luſt commit. *Rev.* 21. 8.

Surely then thoſe Murtherers of their honeſt fellow-Subjects who will not ſide with them in taking up Arms, and of their Prince if they prevail; then thoſe Idolaters, who, crown'd with ſucceſs, erect falſe Power in oppoſition to the legal One, and would compell all to acknowledge and pay homage to it, like *Nebuchadnezzar*, to fall down and worſhip the Image they have made and ſet up, ſhall be caſt there.

S. 5.

§. 1. Use of Reproof of thoſe who in practice diſſever the *Commands* of *Fearing God* & the *King*.

I have now gone through the ſeveral parts of the Text in ſpeculation, but will reſume them again, and try how practically uſeful they may be to us.

And firſt, *The inſeperability of theſe two Commands of Fearing God, and Honouring the King*, may ſerve for a Reproof againſt two ſorts of men, whoſe Cloak of Hypocriſie or open Profaneneſs put aſſunder in practice what God hath joyned together in precept.

The first make use of their pretended *Fear* of God, to justle out the King's *Honour*; their serving Him, to excuse their Disobedience to This; their fits of Devotion and Extatical Raptures, their acts of Disloyalty; their asserting the true Religion, justifie their rising up against Majesty.

The other pay their Duty to their Prince, at the rate of substracting it from their Maker; think with their Allegiance do discount for their Irreligion; that being good and faithful Subjects, makes amends for being bad and false Christians; being right for the Government and Laws of the Land, satisfies for Actions unbecoming and scandalous to the glorious Gospel of their Saviour.

These are such gross mistakes, and the practices grounded on them so dangerous, that the entertainers of such Principles, and such Actors, deserve the sharpest rebuke, to be told with all smartness on both ears: That a devout stirrer up of Sedition, a religious Incendiary, a godly Rebel, on one hand; and an atheistical Royallist, a dissolute Leige-man, a wicked good Subject on the other, are contradictions in the adject: To be subject to the Powers which be, for conscience-sake, because ordained by God; and to strive or fight with them for conscience-sake, because they are not of the same persuasion in matters of Faith with us, of the same piece in Religion: To honour God's Vicegerent, by a dutiful deporting our selves towards him; and to dishonour the Sovereign of all the World, who constituted him such, by flagitious lives, are inconsistent impossibilities.

§. 2 Reproof 2. of those who are given to change, and particularly of us of *England*.

But 2*dly*. If the dividing the Commands deserves such a reproof, the neglecting the caution or the going directly against the wise Charge in the Text, of not *meddling with those who are given to change*, requires a yet sharper rebuke.

It's observed of Islanders, that they are usually as variable as the Weather of their Climate is; and it hath been our reproach, that none have been more so than we.

After that great and total change which the success of the last Rebellion produced, the subversion of the Monarchy for a time, how many several Changes did we pass through after! We shifted

ted Scenes of Government, or rather Anarchy, as oft as in the *Pythagorean* Opinion the Soul doth Bodies.

First, The obscene part of a *House of Commons*, which had the impudence to stile it self *a Parliament*, domineers; next, upon their being thrown out by their own Army, a *Council of State*, form'd for the most part of Officers; then a Convention of some of their Creatures, or confiding Brethren, with the assumed name of *a Parliament* too; then a single person, and he a *General* forsooth, advanced from a Lieutenant or Captain at first, (and that Officer extracted from an indigent Gentleman) with the specious title of *Protector of the Commonwealths of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland: He succeeded by an unequal Son, unfit to hold what he had got, and so deposed by his ambitious and jealous Kindred: then at the Armies call that *filthy part of the Commons* return to take the Reins of Government, who not pleasing their powerful Masters, are a second time disgracefully expulsed by them; then a Creature of the Armies begetting and moulding, with a new name of their own devising, *a Committee of Safety*, is substituted; this occasion'd a difference between the *English* and *Scotch* Army, the last declaring its dissatisfaction against the Proceedings of the former; and the Contest ended by the gradual mouldring away of That, and the subsistence of This, in placeing the *ejected Members* once more in their Seats; who being scarce warm there, had unwelcom Guests added to them by the prudent *Fabius*, General MONCK, *viz.* those who were secluded (1648.) by violence, for voting the King's Concessions satisfactory, and a ground for Peace; who dissolving themselves, made room for the sitting down of that Assembly which recals home our Exil'd King and His Brothers.

And when all the Tribes seem'd unanimous in bringing back our *David* to his Throne, and he was according to their wish safe seated thereon, one would have thought all these Feaverish Distempers should have been allay'd, our floating Island fix'd by His Restauration, as they say *Delos* was by *Apollo*'s Birth. But there was no such matter; for there was a Party of men injur'd, as they suppos'd, by His Restitution, because it stript them of their ill-got Wealth and Power: and these were restless to bring all

things back to the late Confusion again, as the probabl'st means to re-imburse and re-instate themselves.

These endeavoured to seize His Majesties Castle of *Dublin*, and make an Insurrection here; and being defeated in both, continued the carrying on of the Design here, which they thought to accomplish by surprizing the * *Tower*; and to facilitate that, resolv'd to set fire on the City, for which several Army-Officers being taken, Arraigned, and Convicted by the Testimony of others and their own Confession, were Condemn'd and Executed the *April* before that *September* in which great part of it was laid in Ashes.

1663. *June* 1. *in* Ireland.

1666. *April* 26. *in* *They were Try'd at the Sess. in the* Old Baily.

There was another Party indeed for His Restauration, yet not for His or the Kingdoms sake, but with hopes to have their fallen Ark of the Covenant and the Kirk-Discipline rear'd and set up; like the People of *Rome*, who oppress'd by the *Decemviri*, look'd up to the Nobility, in expectation by their help to breath free Air, who by fear of their Power before had brought themselves into that state of Servitude.

Liv. Inde libertatis auram captare unde servitutem timendo in eum statum Remp. ad duxerant.

These finding themselves mistaken in their measures, engaged themselves in our Neighbourhood of *Scotland* in two actual Rebellions, the one at *Pentland-hills*, the other at *Bothwel-bridge*, for the Cause of the holy League.

1666. *Nov.* 26. 1679. *May* 29.

And both these (neither being dishearten'd by their former ill success) joyn'd together lately in one common Design, either of *undermining and blowing up the Government by Fraud*, or *overthrowing it by plain force.*

I will not trouble you with repeating to you the method of this last Project, which you have had fully and yet succinctly deduced in His Majesties Declaration; but it may be I shall trouble you, and grate your tender ears, in charging you with assisting towards it, and so bringing you in as *Medlers with them who were given to change.*

For, Did not you shew your selves such, by siding and going along with that Faction which wrought the last dismal Change, or by following men who trac'd their steps, and practis'd the same methods of Sedition which usher'd in that Rebellion?

For

For first, Did you not greedily swallow down the Lies they fed you with against the Government; sometimes as if it was making it self Arbitrary and Tyrannical; other times as if it was selling you for Bondslaves to the *French*; and by and by as if it were introducing Popery, Images were just a setting up in your Churches to be worship'd, and the holy Water for sprinkling was already in the Porches?

And when the falshood of these were discover'd to you, were you not as ready to entertain any new ones they devis'd to stop those Leaks, (though never so ridiculous?) Had they not inured you so to them, or you your selves, that your Spirits were not to be kept up without them; as men accustoming their Stomachs to Brandy, are fainting if they warm them not ever and anon with a Dram of the Bottle.

2. Have you not had their persons in the greatest admiration, who made the biggest noise for *Religion* and *Liberty*, while their Lives manifested they had extinguish'd the *One* all but the Name, and their arbitrary proceedings that they were resolv'd to prostitute the *Other* to their own Lusts? Such who had scrupl'd at Order and Decency in the Church, but had made none of involving three Kingdoms in misery and Confusion; strain'd at Conformity, but swallow'd down Rebellion; stumbl'd at a Ceremony, but leap'd over the Murther of their King?

Were not such esteem'd the fittest persons you could choose to represent you, and act on your behalf; *Atheists*, to Reform Religion for you; *Bankrupts*, to secure your Property; *Old Army-Officers*, to guard your Liberty; and *Conspirators of forty years growth and upwards*, to shield you from the danger of the late Plot?

3. Last of all, Did you not look upon your selves as absolved from the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and on them as antiquated Bonds? Or were you not for expounding them so as they might be best accomodated to Rebellion, or willing Disciples of such Masters who did? That they were stipulations of a conditional Obedience, provided the King maintain'd your Rights, and that limited and restrained to some Cases only; so that the King not performing the former, you were not bound to the latter; or com-

commanding ſomething without the Verge of his Authority, might be oppos'd by Arms, and forc'd within compaſs; or that they might be violated without ſin, for promoting ſuch great goods as the Power of Godlineſs and the Freedom of the Goſpel? Did not the Caſuiſtical Divinity of ſuch Rabbies pleaſe you, who directed you in order to ſhake the Crown from off the Monarchs Head in time, as well as to enfeeble his hands for the preſent? How, as Jurors, ſworn to make true enquiry between Him and Priſoners at the Bar, you might break ſuch an Oath with the deepeſt ſenſe of Religion, before ſworn with a ſound Conſcience; call Damnation upon your heads with the Fear of God before their eyes? How in ſingleneſs of heart you might receive the Communion kneeling, to capacitate you for an Office whereby to do miſchief to the State, and yet be free from the Idolatry charged upon that geſture there?

A Pamphlet entituled, No Prot. Plot, *2d. part, p.* 26. *ad calcem:* *and a* Treatiſe of occaſional Commun.

Exhort. 1. §. 3. Not to meddle in bringing about a Change.

If you have in any of the fore-mentioned reſpects been guilty, as it's more than to be ſuſpected you have, I exhort you to waſh away the contracted guilt with the Tears of Repentance, and to take care for the future of drawing any farther on your ſelves. If you have ſinned in this kind, ſin no more.

Rom. 13.

The Contrariety of any ways aſſiſting towards a change of Government, to the Doctrine of Chriſt enjoyning ſubjection to all Powers irreſpectively which are lawful, becauſe ordain'd by God; To a *Caligula*, as well as an *Auguſtus*; to cruel *Nero's* and *Domitians*, as well as to courteous *Veſpaſians*; to an Apoſtate *Julian*, as well as a Chriſtian *Conſtantine*: becauſe they had equally their Power from Him; to that demanding us to pray for all in Authority, becauſe conſtituted by Him; Of the Vices, which drive and puſh men on to this, (ſuch as are diſcontent with the lowneſs of their ſtation, Ambition to climb higher, Covetouſneſs to make themſelves richer, Envy againſt thoſe who are above them in Place, or exceed them in Fortune, Revenge for ſome conceived affront or neglect) to a Chriſtian Frame of Spirit; the baſeneſs of the courſes taken to bring it about, Lies, deep Diſſimulation, and Perjury; Of the means to execute it, Deviliſh Fraud and Treachery; the horrid Concomitants and Conſequences of it, Confuſion

S. Aug. l. 5. *de C. D.* 21.

1 *Pet.* 2. 12, 13.

fusion and Desolation, should be very powerful Arguments to dissuade you from medling.

But if the Villainy and Wickedness of it will not, certainly the Danger of being discovered, through the Falseness and Cowardice of Partakers with you in the Design; or by some unforeseen (and therefore unpreventable) occasion; of miscarrying at the very nick of executing it, through rashness or faintheartedness; or if it take effect, and you succeed for a time, the danger of being afterwards over-turn'd, and brought under the Wheel; (for Rebellion, though it prospers on the Stage through four Acts, is generally plagu'd in the fifth;) and then, in all the fore-mentioned Cases, the certainty of being punish'd should discourage you; which, let it be never so sharp and painful, the black Complexion of your Crimes will make it construed Mildness and Clemency; Or, if the Torments man can inflict are too mean Considerations to dis-hearten men of Bravery from thus attempting, surely those which God can and will lay on you, should affright you; if the Princes Wrath will not, Damnation should; if the Gallows, the Wheel, Dismembring, Unbowelling, Breaking, will not, Hell, its Fire, Smoak, Chains of Darkness, should; if the Pains of the first Death cannot, those of the second, containing all the exquisite sorts of Pain which usher in the first, intended into infinity in degree, extended into eternity in duration, (the Portion in the next World of the most prosperous and thriving Rebels in This) should; under all which this shall be a farther aggravation, the Reflection that *Lucifer*, Chief of the Rebel-Angels Armies, and Ring-leader of all here below, shall be the Minister of God's Vengeance to you, whom his subtle Arts first inveigl'd and drew in.

Cicero Catilin. 4. Nulla esse potest in tanti sceleris immanitate punienda crudelitas.

§ 4

And now, If upon the score of Religion, a sense of the impious Villainy of endeavouring a Change, a consideration of the dreadful everlasting Torments with which (unrepented) it shall be revenged, you detest such thoughts, and abhor such Miscreants who are inclin'd that way; you may, at my entreaty, or rather Gods by me his Ambassador, be induced to comply with another part of your Duty, which is, *to praise and magnifie the riches of his Mercy and Goodness, in preventing the Change design'd to be brought*

Exhort. 2. To praise God for the discovering & preventing the impious design of making a Change in the Government.

brought upon this Nation, by men who wip'd their mouths, and call'd themſelves the peaceable People of the Land, *while they had War in their hearts, and there delighted and wanton'd in miſchief, and all the diſmal conſequents of that; For bringing to light all their ſecret Counſels of Darkneſs; For baffling their Devices, and making them of none effect; For diſappointing their proud hopes, and turning their weapons form'd againſt his Anointed and his Friends, upon themſelvs.*

If the ſtopping Blood from breaking out in ſuch plentiful iſſues as ſhould cover the face of the Land again; If the repreſſing of Rape, Uncleanneſs, Robbery, Profanation of holy things, and all other ſorts of Diſorders, which are not barely committed, but priviledg'd in Tumults; If the ſheathing up the Sword, and ſhutting up Fire from ravaging, and making this *Eden* of ours, this Garden of the Lords, deſolate as a barren Wilderneſs; If the not letting looſe upon us other Judgments for the juſt Puniſhment of our Murthers, and thoſe fore-mentioned Crimes, deſerve an humble and thankful Remembrance of God's gracious dealing, it's due upon theſe occaſions, *the detection of a horrid Conſpiracy to raiſe an Inſurrection*, whoſe mildeſt aim, interpreted by the greateſt Charity, could not be leſs than ſeizing on and impriſoning the King's Perſon, till he ſhould have conſented to their wild demands; and another of a more bare-fac'd Impiety, *againſt His Life, His deareſt Brother's, many of the Lords of His Council, of the Magiſtracy of His capital City, of the reſt of the Body of His Subjects, whoſe ſignal Loyalty had mark'd them out for fit Victims to Phanatick Rage.* A Murther, as relating to the King, not only execrable in it ſelf, but in its circumſtances likewiſe: For they who had murther'd Him before in His Reputation, by miſ-calling Him *Tyrant*, (whoſe fault was His Clemency) intended to murther Him in His Perſon, after the ſame manner as they in * *Piſo's* Conſpiracy did *Nero*, the worſt of that denomination; To which purpoſe, they of the Faction who had the Learning may be ſuppoſed to have examined that Hiſtory, to parallel it the fitter.

For they deſign'd to do it as he ſhould go to or return from ſome of his Houſes of Pleaſure, (as they did that Emperour at *Baiæ*) as leaſt ſecured there by Guards or Friends; or at ſome Recreation

* *Tac. Annal. l. 15. & 12. hiſt. Et cepiſſe impetum Subrius Flavius ferebatur in ſcenam canentem Neronem aggrediendi.* Afterwards at *Baiæ, cujus amenitate captus Cæſar. crebro ventitabat, balneaſq; & Epulas inibat omiſſis excubiis & fortune ſunt male.* Then, *Tandem ſtatuere Circenſium ludorum die qui Cereri celebratur deſtinata Exequi.*

on and Paſtime, as they did him at the *Theatre* or *Circenſian* Game; and reſolved if their Deſign ſhould be prevented by a Diſcovery, impudently to outface the World they had none; ſo they have actually done, though it was proved by the Depoſitions of perſons engaged in it, and confeſs'd by Parties ſuffering for it, and that at a time chiefly when they ſhould ſpeak the Truth, or could be leaſt ſuppoſed to lye againſt themſelves, *viz.* at the point of death; as the well-wiſhers to *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy ſpread it abroad, *That he and thoſe others executed upon that ſcore, were murthered out of envy or fear:* albeit they who pry'd narrowly into Affairs at that juncture, and thoſe who had fled, upon their return home after *Nero*'s Death, allow'd the Truth of it.

Tac. Annal. 15. c. 15. de Nerone, Crebro rumore lacerabatur tanquam viros inſontes ob invidiam aut metum extinguiſſet; ceterum ceptam, adultamq; conjurationem eſſe, neq; tunc dubitavere quibus rerum noſcendiora erat & fatentur qui poſt intevitum Neronis in urbem regreſſi ſunt.

Such (alas!) is the unhappy condition of Princes, that they muſt be firſt oppreſs'd by an Inſurrection, afore it will be believed there was one a hatching, and men ſeemingly unprovided ſhould venture to conteſt with their arm'd Forces; Murther'd, before it will be entertain'd there was any Treaſonable intention againſt their Lives.

But I hope otherwiſe, at leaſt of a great part of this Nation, of all who were not partakers of the Secrecy, that they are fully convinc'd of the reality of both the Conſpiracies: And if we are, acknowledging God's Providence (which is always awake to conſerve the Peace of Kingdoms and States, and takes the Perſons of Kings and Princes into his particular Care and Guardianſhip, unleſs otherwiſe provoked) in the Diſcovery, awakening the minds of ſome of the Conſpirators with the horror of their meditated Crime, and filling others with ſuch ſuſpicions of their Complices, that they could have no peace with their Conſciences, nor calm in their Breaſts, until, like *Jonah* in a Storm, they had reveal'd their own Guilt, and diſcover'd others; acknowledging likewiſe his goodneſs in preventing the miſchiefs which would have enſu'd had they taken effect, let us adore and praiſe his holy Name for theſe marvellous acts, that he hath delivered *David* his Servant from the peril of the Sword which was ready to be drawn againſt him, preſerv'd his Anointed, the Breath of our Noſtrils, from being taken in the Pit which was digg'd for him, and that he hath not given us over

Dion. l. 52. Χαλεπῶτα ὁι πολλοιπορθον ὁτι τις ἔοπλος ἐωχι ἐσπιβουλευσει τῷ ἔοπλις μνεῳ.

Sueton. v. Domit. c. 21 obſervat conditionem principum eſſe miſerrimam, quibus de conjuratione comperta non creditur niſi occiſis.

a Prey unto the teeth of our Enemies, but their Snares are broken, and we, with our Souls, our Lives in our hands, are escaped out of them; Yea further, that he hath driven them back, and making inquisition for Blood, he remembred to bring to open Light and condign Punishment men who thirsted after it: Let us, for this eminent mercy, be praising him, and with the memorial of our deliverance, transmit our Thanks to Posterity; for the gracious and merciful Lord hath so done it, that it ought to be had in remembrance, and the Wonder declared unto the Children of Men.

Together with these Praises, let us joyn our ardent Prayers, That he would change the hearts of such evil-minded persons, whose dis-affection to the Government makes them afflicted and griev'd for its Prosperity; and put them in fear, such as they may not dare for the future to think of disturbing its Peace; Or if they will not be affraid, yet that he would not suffer them to have the upper-hand of us, but still continue to deliver *David* his Servant from the hands of such strange Children whose right hand is a right hand of Iniquity; and making ready the strings of his Bowe against the face of them, he would put to flight and scatter the People who delight in War.

Tac. Annal. 2. ferenda Regum ingenia, neq; usus Crebras mutationes.

So shall it come to pass, that our Prince having the Hearts or the Necks of such who would have disturb'd the Tranquility of his Government, by endeavouring a Change, (*Change*, more destructive to a Nation than the worst of the worst Governours can be;) we his People, secure even from the Fears of Calamity and Ruine, shall enjoy every one our own, our Flocks and Herds, the Fruit of our Labour, and our Fields; a Trade which shall silence all complaints of Poverty and Decay, or all grounds for them; our Wives, Children, Servants, Families, with safety, and our persons with freedom; and a farther Blessing than all this, even the Lord for our God.

Now God, who alone can, give us all this peaceable frame of Spirit here, and then reward us with that happiness hereafter which consists in the fruition of Himself;

To whom, One undivided Essence, subsisting in Three Personalities, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be ascrib'd all Power, Glory, Might, Majesty and Dominion, throughout all Churches of the Saints, now and for ever, *Amen.*

FINIS.

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